United Nations A/49/PV.23

General Assembly

Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

23rd Meeting
Friday, 7 October 1994, 3 p.m.
New York

President: Mr. Essy ..... Côte d'Ivoire

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Agenda item 9 ***(continued)***

General debate

Address by His Royal Highness Prince Mbilini Dlamini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Assembly will first hear an address by the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

His Royal Highness Prince Mbilini Dlamini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, was escorted to the rostrum.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, His Royal Highness Prince Mbilini Dlamini, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Prince Dlamini (Swaziland): I bring with me the greetings and good wishes of His Majesty King Mswati III, Her Majesty the Indlovukazi, the Government and people of the Kingdom of Swaziland to all our friends and fellow Members of the United Nations.

On behalf of Swaziland, may I begin by offering my sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. We are confident that with your able leadership our deliberations will be guided towards a successful conclusion, for the benefit of the global community.

Let me also offer Swaziland's gratitude and praise to your predecessor, whose wise direction ensured the success of the deliberations of the Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

The past 12 months have presented many challenges to our Organization, in its pivotal role as an effective instrument for fostering global peace and security, and as a dynamic forum for promoting a spirit of understanding and cooperation among the nations of the world.

Clearly, significant progress has been made in meeting these challenges, and my delegation recognizes the role of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, whose diplomatic skills and untiring efforts have contributed so greatly to the continuing ability of the United Nations to achieve the successes on which the whole world depends.

In April this year, the eyes of the world were focused on South Africa as the people of that country went to the polls to elect, for the first time, a Government that would represent all South Africans, regardless of race, religion or creed. Today, in a triumph for the spirit of reconciliation, peace and compromise among all South Africans, we welcome the new, non-racial and democratic South Africa back into the family of the United Nations.

94-86576 (E)

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While congratulating the people of South Africa for their substantial achievement, the Kingdom of Swaziland also salutes the role of the United Nations in bringing about an end to a regime it had long opposed. As a result the millions of South African people who had been denied a voice in this Hall will once more be heard. South Africa's triumph is therefore also a victory for the principle of universality, on which the United Nations was founded.

As neighbour, partner and ally, Swaziland, and the other countries in the subregion, have particular reason to rejoice at the successful process of transition in South Africa. Quite apart from the benefit of peace to the area brought about by a successful political transformation, we all look forward to enjoying the fruits of closer economic and trade cooperation with the region's most influential country.

Swaziland has been most impressed with the very clear policy of His Excellency President Mandela, stated consistently since he took office in May, on the importance of close cooperation with others in the region.

We have already welcomed South Africa into the Southern African Development Community, and other initiatives are under way to forge closer trade and economic links between our newly liberated neighbour and the rest of the subregion, for South Africa cannot expect to stand on its own in the future. It is a fact that the economic destinies of the nations in our subregion are inextricably bound together.

Even as we celebrate the return of peace and stability in South Africa, our continent continues to provide some of the worst examples of people's inhumanity to one another.

Swaziland watched with horror as the tragedy unfolded earlier this year in Rwanda. Many words have been spoken here about the dreadful scenes we all witnessed, and our hearts went out to the millions whose lives were shattered by the effects of the civil war there. No other justification is needed to spur on our efforts to address the issue of conflict prevention and resolution than the loss of so many lives, so quickly, in Rwanda. We pray that a formula for true, lasting peace may be found, and that the two peoples may be able to find some way of living side by side with each other.

The situations in Burundi, Liberia, Sudan and Somalia also continue to give us cause for grave concern. Swaziland supports all peaceful efforts aimed at bringing about negotiated settlements to the problems in these countries.

Despite the many set-backs to peace on our continent, the past twelve months have also seen substantial progress among a number of countries - progress which owes much to the efforts of our Organization.

I have spoken already of our admiration for the developments in one of our neighbouring countries, South Africa, which took the path of reconciliation and peace towards the much-needed process of reconstruction and development.

The same degree of respect applies to our other neighbour, Mozambique, which, after so long a period of bitter hatred amongst its people, has at last chosen to lay down weapons in favour of the ballot box. Swaziland joins the world in praying for a peaceful election process later this month, and calls on the leaders to allow the same spirit of reconciliation and unity that brought an end to the war after so many years to continue after a new government has been chosen.

We appeal to the international community to continue to provide the financial, technical, moral and material support that will be necessary for Mozambique to rebuild itself, and to give its people a chance to fulfil their high potential.

The Kingdom of Swaziland warmly welcomes the agreement that brought about a peaceful solution to the situation prevailing in our sister Kingdom of Lesotho. We welcome the opportunity presented now for the Basotho people themselves to address their concerns. It is our fervent hope that the agreement will be implemented successfully, without undue delay, so that lasting peace and stability may come to the kingdom.

The direct effects of developments on our continent are of obvious concern to the Kingdom of Swaziland. But in this day and age of global interdependence, the potential effects on us of situations outside Africa are of equal importance. Two recent developments provide particular cause for hope in areas of long-running dispute.

In the Middle East, the seeds of peace and reconciliation, sown last year by Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat, and encouraged by the United States, Norway, the United Nations and others, are at last

bearing fruit. Talk of trade and cooperation is replacing the noise of gunfire, as the bitter rivalries of generations give way to a new order of peace in the region.

Swaziland salutes all those who contributed to the process of peace in the Middle East; we appeal to the leaders of the region to join in the process and to allow it to continue without disruption, so that precious resources may be directed towards worthwhile development goals.

The Kingdom of Swaziland has long been concerned about the spread of nuclear weapons, and the effect this has had on world stability. We were therefore encouraged by the recent initiatives on the part of the United States and Russia to substantially reduce the number of their weapons.

We also support all efforts on the Korean peninsula, where disaster has been pending, to bring about real progress on the nuclear issue. This issue has been the focus of major instability for the entire far-east region, and Swaziland fully supports all efforts to bring about a peaceful resolution to the problem.

We look forward to the peaceful reunification of the two Koreas, and encourage all moves to bring this to fruition.

Wars and conflict situations in Africa and around the world continue to stretch our belief that people can ever live peacefully with one another. More and more, the resources of the United Nations are being overextended to meet the challenges these situations present, and conflict resolution finds itself close to the top of the agenda for action by this Assembly.

Mercifully, the Kingdom of Swaziland has been spared the horrors of internal conflict, but no country can really feel immune to the effects of war and confrontation, wherever these may be occurring. Deciding on the best way for the world to cope with conflict situations is therefore a problem we all share, and we in Africa are conscious of our particular responsibility for deciding on mechanisms to limit, prevent and cope with conflict situations developing on our continent.

This issue has been central during discussions at subregional and regional conferences. Most recently, important resolutions were adopted at the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Tunis, and at the Southern Africa Development Community summit in Gaborone, which went some way towards deciding on the regional response to one of Africa's most pressing problems.

But despite almost unanimous willingness for our countries to become involved more directly in the continent's conflicts, it was clearly recognized that the majority of us lacked the resources to lend an effective hand.

The Kingdom of Swaziland therefore supports the growing call for an integrated approach to conflict resolution on our continent, which would bring close cooperation between Africa and the rest of the world by establishing mechanisms to coordinate the resources of both in the most effective way. The OAU is clearly in the best place to mobilize the efforts of its members and most important of all, to undertake preventive diplomacy before a situation has the chance to develop - while the United Nations can continue to play its role as coordinator of the international response.

Many of Africa's present conflicts could well have been prevented or contained if properly coordinated mechanisms had already been in place. The Kingdom of Swaziland welcomes discussion here so that a plan of action can be agreed upon quickly on this vitally important issue.

In this regard, and as a measure of Swaziland's acceptance of her responsibility to the rest of the world, His Majesty King Mswati III announced at the OAU summit in Tunis this year that he would be taking steps to decide how best the Kingdom's small defence force could be used alongside other troops in multinational forces for the benefit of global peace and stability.

His Majesty has begun the process of investigating under what conditions the nation's soldiers can be offered, bearing in mind the small size of the defence force and our relative lack of appropriate weapons and equipment. Clearly, we cannot allow our soldiers to enter into potentially dangerous situations without proper protection and without adequate training.

These are some of the issues to be looked at before we can fully commit ourselves to taking this more active role in global peace-keeping, and we will be approaching the Secretary-General for consultations on this important initiative.

This session of the General Assembly is entrusted with the task of discussing "An Agenda for Development". The focus of the world is on the requirement now to channel our resources towards achieving lasting global stability through the sustainable

development of our countries, providing us with improved standards for all our peoples.

The welcome end to the period of confrontation between the world's super-Powers should mean that increased global resources can now be redirected to achieving a new and more balanced world economic order. Closer attention can now be given to the plight of all developing countries, which continue to suffer the effects of serious development neglect. This crucial point was discussed at length at last weekend's meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Madrid, where the view of the developing world was made very clear.

The continent of Africa contains the highest number of the world's poorest countries, and any agenda for development should take into account the special circumstances surrounding the inability of this region to develop effectively.

We in the region know ourselves, all too well, what factors continue to obstruct our progress. It is a familiar catalogue, including resource constraints; inappropriate development policies; the slow pace of industrialization and transformation into producers of processed goods; inadequate infrastructure; natural disasters; and a continuing round of armed conflicts.

We know the problems, and we are trying our best to overcome them. We understand our responsibility to our people to mobilize our resources in the most effective way to overcome the obstacles to national development. The need is clear, and our resources and abilities are limited, but we are trying hard. We also recognize that we cannot hope to achieve long-term sustainable development without, at least, the short-term assistance of the rest of the global community.

Much of what we need is contained in the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, and our continent's collective appeal is for the swift and full implementation of its many programmes. But each nation has its separate, distinct needs.

Swaziland welcomes recent initiatives towards strengthening South-South cooperation, and we believe they will result in real progress towards overcoming the economic challenges facing us all in that grouping.

In trying to meet our national economic development objectives, the Kingdom of Swaziland has adopted a broad and integrated approach aimed at achieving sustainable, "human-centred" development, through policies that focus on the priorities of the reduction of poverty, universal access to primary school, and affordable primary health care.

Recent United Nations initiatives also guide us in our Government policies. As a follow-up to the Earth Summit, for example, we have established a national environmental authority to ensure that environmental concerns are properly integrated into all stages of public policy and national development strategy formulation.

Swaziland welcomed the opportunity to address the recent United Nations Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, and the adoption of the Programme of Action constitutes a significant step in our collective aim. The Kingdom had already embraced the option of acceptable child spacing as the cornerstone of our population growth policy, and we have begun a comprehensive programme of education for our people in the realities of and efforts to deal with overpopulation.

These and all aspects of the economic development of the Kingdom will be debated by the whole nation during the process of national economic consultation, which was recently initiated by His Majesty the King. The process is designed to allow all Swazis the opportunity to be involved in deciding the future direction of the Kingdom's economy, and will embody the nation's wishes for future priorities and strategies. These in turn will form the basis of our request for future support from our friends in the international community, and we will be keeping the United Nations fully informed of developments.

The process follows on from last year's very successful political reforms, resulting from a similar period of national consultation, which concluded last October with direct elections to Parliament under a new system of secret ballot. The democratic elections were declared free and fair by the international community and, more importantly, were what the Swazi people themselves had chosen.

Both processes - political and economic reform - show clearly Swaziland's principle of rule by consensus of the people. We believe this principle is at the heart of the peace and stability we have enjoyed for many generations, and it has spared us the horrors of internal conflict suffered by so many on our continent.

I spoke earlier of South Africa's return to the international community, as, among other things, a triumph for the United Nations in upholding the principle of universality. The Kingdom of Swaziland urges the Assembly to apply the same principle to investigate the merits of the case of the Republic of China in Taiwan.

His Majesty King Mswati III joined a number of other Heads of State in raising this issue at the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly. His Majesty called for the establishment of an ad hoc committee to determine whether or not the Republic of China had a reasonable case for rejoining our Organization. This call has been taken up by an increasing number of countries that support the idea of looking into the issue in more detail.

Quite apart from the principle of universality, there are other important factors for us to consider when reviewing the case. The Republic of China in Taiwan has much to offer to the world community. It clearly has the resources to be of more use to the rest of the international community. More important, though, is the desire of the Republic of China to be of use - and assistance - to the rest of the world.

The Kingdom of Swaziland, along with a large number of other developing countries throughout Africa, Asia and the Americas, has had first-hand evidence of the Republic of China's willingness to offer generous humanitarian and development assistance.

As more and more worthy targets appear for the United Nations resources, we can surely ill afford to reject the call to investigate further whether that country's assistance can be put to wider use through the agencies of our Organization.

At the heart of the issue, though, is the fact that 21 million people believe that they are not represented in the United Nations. These people believe that they are excluded from our founding principle of universality. In consideration of this right, which they believe has been denied them, the time has surely come for us to listen to their voices.

The Kingdom of Swaziland welcomes and supports the participation of the Republic of China In Taiwan in the activities of the United Nations, and we therefore call once more for the establishment of an ad hoc committee to review the case for their re-admittance to the Organization.

The United Nations has a distinguished history of 49 years of growth and achievement. The challenges we faced almost 50 years ago, as the world emerged from global conflict, have changed in substance but not in importance.

We have the opportunity now, in this forum, to lay the foundations for an agenda for development that will bring about the stability and peace we all desire.

The Kingdom of Swaziland is proud of its membership of the United Nations and commends the work of all who have contributed to the many successes over the years. The nation is deeply indebted to the United Nations agencies, whose efforts are contributing so much to the attainment of our development goals.

On behalf of His Majesty King Mswati III, Her Majesty the Indlovukazi, and the whole Swazi nation, I should like to reaffirm my country's full support for, and commitment to, the Charter of the United Nations. May Almighty God bless these deliberations with the success they deserve.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland for the statement he has just made.

His Royal Highness Prince Mbilini Dlamini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, was escorted from the rostrum.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Mr. Nguyen Manh Cam, on whom I now call.

Mr. Nguyen Manh Cam (Viet Nam) *(interpretation from French)*: First, allow me, on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. I am confident that, under your guidance and with the active contributions of member countries, this session of the General Assembly will have a successful outcome. I also wish to take this opportunity to express our admiration for the efficient performance of your predecessor, Mr. Samuel R. Insanally. We greatly appreciate the great efforts made by Mr. Boutros-Ghali in his high post as Secretary-General of the United Nations in the cause of peace, national independence and development.

The United Nations is approaching the final year of its first half century of existence. The most appropriate way for us to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization is to help it act in a manner commensurate with its global role and with the important, difficult and complex tasks set out by the new world situation. Since the last session of the General Assembly, we have witnessed immense and profound changes in the world as a whole and in each region. Mankind is confronted by both opportunities and challenges. It is the task of each country and of the international community as a whole to realize the noble aspirations of mankind, to overcome the obstacles to settling global and pressing issues and to promote peace, cooperation and development.

The world panorama is full of contradictions. While the threat of a destructive world war has been further checked, ethnic, religious and territorial conflicts continue to persist or even multiply in a number of regions. Against this disturbing backdrop, there have been some rays of hope that certain conflicts in the world will be settled. The success of the struggle waged by the South African people to abolish apartheid and establish a new united, democratic and non-racist State in South Africa constitutes a historic achievement for the South African people, the United Nations and the world community. The Vietnamese delegation warmly welcomes the delegation of the new South Africa to the General Assembly.

In the Middle East, encouraging progress has been made, particularly between Palestine and Israel and between Jordan and Israel, in the negotiating process and the search for peace. These developments foster hopes of reaching a just and lasting peace in the region and of restoring the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination and an independent State in their own land.

Over the past year there have been certain positive developments in the world economy. In a number of countries there have been signs of recovery. Globalism and regionalism have accelerated. Economic competition is acute and, in this context, the developing countries continue to bear innumerable disadvantages. A considerable number of these developing countries, however, are beset by poverty and backwardness; with every passing day millions of people are threatened by starvation. The developing countries hope that, with the conclusion of the Uruguay Round and the decision to establish the World Trade Organization, trade and investment will be expanded, thus strongly enhancing international economic cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

They cannot, however, help being worried about attempts to use social and environmental issues as fuel for protectionism. This will affect the common sentiments amongst the world's nations at a time when joint efforts are needed to solve global issues in the interests of the development and advancement of every nation and of the entire international community.

In an increasingly interdependent world in which globalism is being strengthened, there is continuous pressure to facilitate increased cooperation on the basis of equal and mutual benefit and to narrow the gap between the level of development of the North and that of the South with a view to securing sustainable and lasting peace throughout the world.

We therefore welcome the Secretary General's initiative in producing his "Agenda for Development". We believe that through wide consultations between Member States we shall arrive at an agenda that responds to common demands and will ensure that the United Nations plays an active role in facilitating economic and social development and the eradication of poverty in Member countries, thereby strengthening the Organization's important role in international economic relations.

We share the view - expressed by many delegations - that the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of development are the two paramount tasks of the United Nations. It is our hope that the role of the United Nations in the field of development will be strengthened in response to the expectation of the countries of the world.

There is an increasingly irresistible trend towards dialogue and international and regional cooperation. In our view, international cooperation should be based on observance of the principles of respect for independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of equality, the settling of disputes through negotiation and without recourse to force or the threat of force. In today's world of increasing awareness of national independence, respect for the right of nations freely to determine their own course of development and to maintain their national identity is an essential condition for the maintenance of peace and stability and for the strengthening of international cooperation.

Blockades, embargoes, sanctions and the imposition of conditions in international relations are relics of the past. They run counter to the aspirations of peoples and to the common trend and are contrary to international law.

In this connection, we wish to express our deep sympathy with the Cuban people in respect of their current difficulties. We demand an end to the economic, commercial and financial embargo imposed on Cuba. We demand also prompt and effective implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. We welcome the joint communiqué recently signed by the United States of America and Cuba on the question of Cuban emigrés. We hope that the two countries will continue their dialogue with a view to settling other outstanding differences between them.

At a time of opportunities and challenges, of hope and fear, the United Nations bears, more than ever, a heavy responsibility in regard to the maintenance of international peace and security. Never before has the United Nations been directly engaged in dealing with so many hotbeds of tension throughout the world. Despite the Organization's efforts, satisfactory solutions to the conflicts in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda have yet to be found.

The tendency to resort more and more to measures of enforcement and intervention to try to resolve intra-State conflicts has prompted legitimate concern among many countries. We share the view that United Nations peace-keeping operations should strictly observe the principles of respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. We believe that the best way to secure the peaceful settlement of conflicts is to persevere with dialogue. Lessons should be learnt from the successes and the failures of peace-keeping operations in recent times. This would help the United Nations the better to discharge the tasks that the Member States as a whole have entrusted to it.

The complex world situation and the increasingly important role of the United Nations urgently require restructuring of the Organization. In view of the growing democratization of international relations, we join those delegations that are demanding reform to democratize the United Nations system. This would include an increase in the membership of the Security Council to make it more representative, more in keeping with the changes that have taken place in the world and more transparent in its decision-making processes. Revitalization of the work of the General Assembly as the body most representative of the interests of Member States is also necessary.

Through the convening of international conferences, such as the recent International Conference on Population and Development, the coming World Conference on Women and the World Summit for Social Development, the United Nations has clearly demonstrated its commitment to the promotion of international cooperation in the resolution of global social issues of vital interest to all nations.

I should like to mention in this important forum a particularly significant coincidence of history. As the United Nations prepares to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary, the Vietnamese people are looking forward enthusiastically to commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh's solemn declaration to the entire world of the birth of an independent, free and democratic Viet Nam. Only now, half a century after its birth, is Viet Nam able to really concentrate its efforts on socio-economic development.

Located in the most dynamic development zone in the world, Viet Nam is fully aware of the danger constituted by the widening gap between its level of development and that of other countries of the region. It has therefore set itself the urgent task of rapidly overcoming its state of poverty and underdevelopment in order to join the stream of progress and development in the region and in the world. Viet Nam has embarked upon the path of reform and renewal in every sphere of its society's life. The core of this reform and renewal is the development of a multi-sector economy operating through a market mechanism and employing State regulation at the macro-economic level with a view to maintaining the country's socio-economic stability, along with the step-by-step establishment of a state of law of the people, by the people and for the people.

The reform and renewal process has achieved important initial results. The average annual growth rate of our gross national product for the three years from 1991 to 1993 was 7.3 per cent; for the first six months of this year, the rate rose to 8 per cent. Our international economic cooperation and trade relations and foreign investment in our country have grown rapidly. Our people's living conditions have been improved. Further progress has been made in the cultural, social, educational and health-care areas, especially regarding the care of children.

Along with economic reforms, Viet Nam has gradually carried out the reform and renewal of its political system in order to build a society in which the rights of each and every one will be increasingly ensured. We continue to move forward in our efforts to establish a state of law, perfect the legal system and undertake national administrative reform. After the promulgation of the new Constitution in 1992, our National Assembly adopted a number of important laws, including the civil law, the labour law, the land law, and the law on the promotion of domestic investment.

With these achievements, Viet Nam is now shifting towards a new stage in its development - that of the industrialization and modernization of the country. This long and arduous process has as its final objective a prosperous people, a strong nation and an equitable and civilized society.

To create a favourable international environment for national construction and development, Viet Nam has been pursuing a foreign policy of openness, diversification, and multilateralization of its relations, while carrying out our desire to become the friend of all countries in the interest of peace, independence and development. We are pleased to note that our policy is developing in complete harmony with the general trend throughout the world, and especially in South-East Asia - that is, the trend towards pursuing peace and cooperation in the interest of development, after decades of war and confrontation. In its implementation of this foreign policy, Viet Nam gives first priority to enhancing the relations of friendship and cooperation with neighbouring countries in the region, and to creating peace, stability, cooperation and development in South-East Asia. Our bilateral relations with each of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and with the Association itself, are experiencing rapid and satisfactory growth, primarily in the economic and commercial areas, particularly since Viet Nam became an ASEAN observer in 1992. At the ministerial Conference of ASEAN held in Bangkok last July, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers unanimously supported Viet Nam's full membership in this Association. With the increased support of the ASEAN countries, Viet Nam is actively preparing to take all the necessary steps to join this Association as a full member. Viet Nam's accession to ASEAN is in conformity with the general trend towards responding to the interests of the countries of the region and reinforcing regional cooperation, especially in the economic and commercial areas, and at the same time facilitates the expansion of our relations with other countries and international organizations.

In keeping with the new regional context, all 10 countries of South-East Asia recently participated, for the first time, in the Conference of foreign ministers of ASEAN; an ASEAN Regional Forum, at which regional security was discussed, was also held for the first time on 25 July last in Bangkok. All this demonstrates the growing cooperation in South-East Asia, as well as the robust movement towards the attainment of the common goals of the region: peace, stability and security.

In order to ensure the peace, stability and development of each country and of the region as a whole, Viet Nam is of the view that the countries of the region should consolidate existing points of agreement, narrow differences and settle disputes, including those regarding the Eastern Sea, through bilateral and multilateral negotiations among those parties directly concerned, without resorting to the use or threat of force. While waiting and working for a fundamental and durable solution, all the parties concerned should restrain from any act that might further complicate the situation, and at the same time strictly respect each country's right of sovereignty on the continental shelf and in the exclusive economic zones, in keeping with international law and particularly with the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

With regard to the Kingdom of Cambodia, Viet Nam ardently wishes to see its neighbour become an independent, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned country, maintaining friendly relations with all countries. It is Viet Nam's policy to strengthen good-neighbourly relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia and to respect the Cambodian people's right to self-determination. We consider that all signatories to the Paris Agreement on Cambodia are bound to scrupulously observe that Agreement, to refrain from interfering in that country's internal affairs and to actively contribute to the process of national reconciliation and the restoration of peace and stability in Cambodia.

In the interest of maintaining and strengthening the traditional friendly relations between Viet Nam and Cambodia and of protecting the legitimate rights of the Vietnamese residents who have been, for many generations, living in Cambodia, we wish to draw attention to the Immigration Law promulgated by the National Assembly of Cambodia on 26 August 1994. Certain articles of that Law have given rise to some concern. His Royal Highness King Norodom Sihanouk and the Royal Government of Cambodia share the legitimate concern of the Government of Viet Nam and

have undertaken to avoid any regrettable consequences and agreed to begin negotiations with Vietnam soon to settle this problem.

The lifting by the United States of the embargo imposed upon Viet Nam has opened up new prospects for building and broadening multi-faceted cooperation between our two countries in the interests of the two peoples and in the service of peace, stability, cooperation and development in the region and throughout the world.

We firmly believe that multilateral relations, especially within the framework of the United Nations, are playing an increasingly important role in international life. As we move towards the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of our Organization, we shall be reviewing all the activities of the past 50 years, drawing the necessary lessons to enhance the capacity and effectiveness of the United Nations system and to pursue tasks worthy of the confidence and expectations of the peoples of the world. For its modest part, Viet Nam will unceasingly strive to make positive contributions to the common cause of the United Nations for peace, development and social progress throughout the world.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now call on the Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, His Excellency Mr. Omar Mustafa Muntasser.

Mr. Muntasser (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) *(interpretation from Arabic):* On behalf of my country and in my own behalf, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. The fact that you belong to our beloved continent, coming as you do from a country bound with my own by bonds of brotherhood and relations of friendship and cooperation is a source of added pride to us in your assumption of this high office. My delegation is confident that, familiar as you are with the work of the United Nations, and with your extensive experience in the field of international relations, you will be able to steer this session to a successful conclusion. I should also like to seize this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation of your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Insanally, for the wisdom he displayed, the efforts he made and the initiatives he took to reform the United Nations and enhance its role. Further, I wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General, for his tireless efforts to strengthen our Organization so as to enable it to face the numerous crises that beset the international community.

The international situation witnessed many developments during the forty-eighth session. The will of the people of South Africa has triumphed after a long struggle and great sacrifices. It is indeed heartening to see in our midst today the delegation of South Africa, representing a united, democratic and non-racial country.

Brotherly Yemen has survived its transient crisis and remains one united country, whose citizens are working with more determination and greater expectations, to build the modern State of Yemen. Along with these developments, tangible progress has been recorded in the implementation of the Peace Accord in Mozambique. Moreover, the artificial tension in the Korean peninsula is now subsiding. We are hopeful that the difficulties relating to the reunification of the Korean peninsula will be overcome through dialogue to be entered into on equal footing.

Such developments are a source of satisfaction and we greatly welcome them. However, they do not mask the gloomy points of the wider picture of the international situation. Many disputes still await a solution. The outbursts of nationalist passions, ethnic chauvinism and power struggles in the absence of any power among the people, have led to the outbreak of new regional conflicts. Although some of these conflicts are getting closer to a solution, as is the case in Liberia, where the conflict is heading towards a permanent solution, the international community must still support national reconciliation efforts in Afghanistan, overcome the setbacks to the peace efforts being undertaken in the Balkans, consolidate the role of the United Nations in establishing peace in that region and guarantee the legitimate rights of the parties to the dispute there.

The international community is also called upon to renew its efforts aimed at reaching a satisfactory solution to the problem of Cyprus. It must encourage peace talks on Angola and support work towards a negotiated solution in sisterly Somalia, in addition to demonstrating increased solidarity to alleviate the tragedy of the Rwandan people. It must also make more efforts to solve the problem of Kashmir on the basis of bilateral agreements and the relevant United Nations resolutions in particular.

In the interest of stability in the Persian Gulf region, my country stresses the importance of the unity and

territorial integrity of Iraq, and calls for an end to all interference in its internal affairs. We also consider that the sanctions imposed on Iraq, which cause suffering to the Iraqi people, should be lifted, since the reasons for these sanctions are no longer valid. Their continuation can only mean a grave injustice aimed at the destruction of the Iraqi people and the extermination of large groups of its population.

The United Nations has adopted many resolutions on the Question of Palestine, all of which acknowledge the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and to exercise the right of self-determination. Although the United Nations has repeatedly reaffirmed these resolutions for more than 40 years, the Palestinian question still awaits a solution, the Palestinian people remain displaced and their rights are systematically and continuously violated. This proves that the so-called ongoing peace process lacks the elements necessary for any comprehensive settlement. This also shows that the resolution of the Palestinian question and the establishment of comprehensive peace in the Middle East cannot be realized merely by returning Gaza back to its status as a municipality and adding Jericho to it, but must rather come about through the liberation of all occupied Arab territories including the Syrian Golan and the acceptance of a democratic solution that would meet all the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland and establish their own independent State.

A few months ago, we celebrated the historic victory of the people of South Africa. It is no coincidence that the struggle of the Palestinian people is in many ways similar to that of the people of South Africa, and that many of the acts of heroism of both peoples echo each other. The solution that made it possible to build a united, democratic and non-racial state in South Africa offers a model for resolving the question of Palestine through the establishment in Palestine of a democratic non-racial State with Al Quds as its capital, where Arabs and Jews can live together. This is the proper solution, without which it would be impossible to reach a just and lasting peace that serves the interests of both Jews and the Palestinian Arabs.

Mr. Sinunguruza (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The numerous changes witnessed by the world after the cold war have created opportunities to build a more stable and secure world. However, the hopes of the peoples of the world for greater and better understanding and for wider cooperation have started to wane. The experience of the past few years has caused deep concern regarding some developments. Some States have begun to try to impose their control and to expand their hegemony, using their power and influence in utilizing international organs to implement their plans, and using them, particularly the Security Council, as a tool to punish those countries which abide by their principles and adopt independent policies and positions. This was the very context of the dispute between my country and France, Britain and the United States of America in what has become known as the Lockerbie crisis. This problem was raised, pushed arbitrarily through the Security Council, and dealt with under Chapter VII of the Charter, which is not applicable in this case since Libya has not threatened anybody and has never acted in a manner that jeopardized international peace and security. The whole issue is merely the suspicion that two Libyans may be connected to the Pan Am flight 103 incident.

Aware as it has been all along of the motivation behind this entire issue, my country has shown sincere readiness to cooperate in uncovering the truth and circumstances of that incident. We have taken the necessary judicial measures consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and international law, with only one proviso, that they do not involve any violation of Libya's sovereign rights.

Although the Security Council was pushed into the adoption of resolution 731 (1992), Libya did declare its readiness effectively to cooperate in the implementation of that resolution. In that respect Libya took practical steps that were widely welcomed by numerous organizations, including the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and the Non-Aligned Movement. It was our hope that the three States concerned would take that into consideration and respond positively to the requests of Libyan authorities for cooperation in completing the investigation. However, the three States concerned responded in an entirely different way. Instead of accepting the initiatives calling for dialogue and negotiation, and showing flexibility in dealing with the other aspects of the crisis, by reconsidering Security Council resolution 748 (1992) with a view to lifting the sanctions imposed on the Libyan people, instead, they resorted to the Security Council once again and, using their influence, managed to persuade it to adopt resolution 883 (1993), tightening the sanctions imposed by resolution 748 (1992).

The argument invoked by the three States concerned to justify maintaining the sanctions and the threat even to tighten them further, is that Libya has not complied with the requirements of Security Council resolution 731 (1992). And when these States are confronted with the fact that the Jamahiriya has really complied with these requirements, their officials, and particularly British and American officials, answer with the words "Libya knows what is required of her". Officials in both countries have repeatedly used this phrase to such an extent that we are convinced that the aim behind the raising of the Lockerbie incident is not to uncover the truth and the circumstances of the issue but rather to achieve premeditated political objectives. Indeed, if the aim had really been to bring Libya to comply with the requirements of resolution 731 (1992), that aim has been fully realized. Libya has taken the legal measures necessary to pinpoint responsibility for the terrorist acts perpetrated against both American and French planes. Libya has requested the three States concerned to cooperate in completing the investigation in this respect. Libya has even invited neutral bodies to follow it up and international and humanitarian organizations to monitor its fairness. My country has cooperated with the French judge in charge of the investigation aimed at determining responsibility for the explosion aboard French UTA flight 772. Contacts in this respect still continue. My country has also cooperated with the Government of the United Kingdom in trying to uncover certain elements accused by the British Government of involvement in terrorist acts. To this end, several meetings were held between the Libyan and British sides. Today, we are very glad to see that negotiations have already started between Britain and the political and military wings of the Irish Republic Army (IRA) and that an agreement has been signed by the two parties. Now the leaders of the IRA are being received and welcomed at the highest level in both London and Washington with a view to holding negotiations with a view to ending the dispute and all its side effects.

Libya has condemned international terrorism in all its forms and declared its readiness to commit itself to whatever measures are adopted by the international community to combat this scourge. Libya has also severed all its relations with all groups and organizations suspected of being involved in terrorist acts. Libya has emphasized that it will not allow its territory, citizens or institutions to be used for such acts whether directly or indirectly. We have declared our readiness to punish severely whoever is proved to be involved in any terrorist acts. Libya has also declared that there are no terrorist training camps on its soil. It has repeated its invitation to the Security Council, or any international body mandated by the Council, to verify this. All these practical measures confirm the extent of my country's seriousness in stamping out the phenomenon of international terrorism. This seriousness has been reflected in the call by the Jamahiriya for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to be devoted to the study of the causes and dimensions of this problem and its support of the proposal to convene an international conference to define terrorism, including State terrorism, and the means to eradicate it in all its forms. It is State terrorism with which Libya is now being threatened at the hands of a State which is a permanent member of the Security Council. That State has abducted Libyan prisoners of war from Chad and is now training them and equipping them to undermine the security and stability of Libya. This is the same terrorism to which Libya fell victim in 1973 when Israeli planes intentionally shot down a Libyan civilian airliner, killing all 108 passengers aboard; and also when the United States of America in 1986 bombed Libyan cities while people were asleep in their beds and caused great loss of life and damage to property. Later it was revealed that the acts used by that State as a pretext for its aggression were unfounded.

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has spared no effort in trying to resolve the dispute, including trying the two suspects in the Pan Am flight 103 incident, although the matter has been predetermined by the 1971 Montreal Convention which gives Libya the right to try the two suspects itself. However, the refusal by Britain and the United States of America to abide by this Convention, to which they are both parties, has prompted Libya to seek other ways of holding the trial. Thus, Libya offered to resort to the International Court of Justice or to surrender the two suspects to the United Nations office in Libya for investigation. Libya has also proposed that the Secretary-General of the United Nations should establish a fact-finding legal commission to verify the seriousness of the accusations, including carrying out a comprehensive investigation. Competent Libyan authorities referred the matter to the basic popular congresses which constitute our legislative authority and they in turn made the decision that they had no objection to letting the two suspects stand trial before a fair tribunal to be agreed upon. Proceeding from this, my country declared its readiness to enter into negotiations with the States concerned under the supervision of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the trial to be held in a place agreed to by all parties concerned where full guarantees would be available to establish the truth, indeed the very aim of Security Council resolution 731 (1992).

Recently, new information on the American aircraft incident has been uncovered, including a book entitled *Tracking the Octopus* by Coleman and Donald and the statements by the manager of a Swiss electronics company. These new revelations obliterate the central element on which the accusations against the two Libyan citizens was based. Despite all this, Libya maintained its cooperation in trying to identify all the circumstances surrounding the incident. On this basis, Libya accepted the proposal of the Council of the League of Arab States contained in its resolution 5373 of 27 March 1994. That proposal called for trying the two suspects by Scottish judges under Scottish law at the seat of the International Court of Justice. Even after new information was revealed by the Palestinian citizen, Yousef Shaaban, before a Lebanese Court, Libya did not hesitate to go ahead with the trial and did not waver in its declared readiness to accept any verdict emanating from such a trial.

This, once again, underlines the fact that the Libyan Jamahiriya has no objection to the trial of the two suspects. All that Libya wants is for the trial to be fair and just, free from any emotional or media influences, and with the availability of all guarantees consistent with the norms of legality and international law, which Libya has observed and applied. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) can testify to this, since that Court has considered, over the past 10 years, three cases to which Libya was a party. The ICJ decided the case relating to the continental shelf between Libya and Tunisia, and both parties fully implemented the ruling of the Court. The same happened in the case of the continental shelf between Libya and Malta; once again the two parties implemented the ruling of the International Court of Justice. This year, the Court decided the territorial dispute between the Jamahiriya and Chad. Though the ruling rejected Libya's demands, the Jamahiriya did implement it in a constructive spirit that was welcomed and appreciated by both the Security Council and the Secretary-General. This shows the extent of my country's commitment to and respect of international legality, something that great powers pay lip service to but never apply. These States refuse even to appear before the ICJ, since they believe in the legality of force and not the force of legality.

Most international and regional organizations have renewed their appeal to the three States to accept the initiatives calling for dialogue and negotiation, with a view to reaching a peaceful settlement to the crises. Those organizations, including the 11th Ministerial Conference of the States Members of the Non-Aligned Movement and the 60th Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, welcomed Libya's acceptance of the Arab League's proposal. This august Assembly, which includes all States represented in those organizations, is now called upon to show its appreciation of Libya's position, Libya's steps and initiatives and the proposals that we have accepted. It should call on the three States concerned to show flexibility and enter into dialogue with the Jamahiriya with the aim of reaching a peaceful settlement to this problem. This Assembly is also called upon to express its support of these demands, so that the Security Council will reconsider its resolutions on the crisis and lift the unjust sanctions. It is absurd and ignorant to depict the sanctions as being against the Libyan Government, because in Libya there is no Government as such. The power is in the hands of the people, who now suffer the consequences of these sanctions - for example, the crash of a Libyan civilian aircraft in 1992, leading to the death of all 157 civilians aboard, as a result of the ban on spare parts. Furthermore, 1,622 people have been killed in car accidents, and 350 people, most of whom were children, old men and women died as a result of delays in moving them abroad for medical treatment. These sanctions have also caused economic damage estimated at $4.5 billion. These damages are detailed in official document S/1994/921.

Before the Second World War, and following the end of that war, the Libyan people suffered and continue to suffer all sorts of pressure, troubles and pains. We have been subjected to colonialism in its worst form: a Fascism that wreaked havoc in our country, killing, displacing and exiling countless numbers of our citizens. Against our will, we had to be a theatre of war between the colonial powers, a war that was fought on our soil and for which we were the fuel. That war's mines are still buried in our soil, in our farms and under our homes. From time to time, these mines explode and kill innocent people. In previous sessions of this Assembly, my country has repeatedly called on the States concerned to cooperate with us in removing these mines. Today, 7 October, coincides with the commemoration of the Libyan people of the 25th anniversary of the evacuation of the last Fascists who had settled in Libya and oppressed its people. Once again I repeat my call and urge the States concerned to respond positively to the resolutions of the General Assembly, instructing them to provide the necessary information on mines, give technical assistance in removing them, and pay compensation for the losses they have caused. This may also be a good opportunity to remind the imperialist

states that occupied our lands for over 40 years that we have not forgotten the ruin and destruction they left behind.

I should also like to announce that my country, through this Assembly and other forums, will seek to compel colonialist states to pay fair compensation for the resources they have looted and the wealth and money they have plundered from our country. The peoples of the world are called upon to adopt a historic resolution, through this Organization, condemning colonialism and forcing former colonial powers to compensate their former colonies, in order to prevent the re-emergence of colonialism and prevent the powerful from once more blackmailing and oppressing the weak.

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya welcomes efforts aimed at enhancing security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region. We voice our satisfaction with the initiatives whose objective is to enhance economic, social, cultural and environmental cooperation in the region. Libya calls for taking all measures necessary to remove all causes of tension in the area, especially through the withdrawal of foreign military fleets whose continued presence jeopardizes peace and security in the Mediterranean, which in turn are closely linked to international peace and security. The Arab Maghreb Union has achieved tangible progress on the road towards economic integration among its countries and towards the consolidation of the underpinnings of development in these countries. It has also opened new channels of cooperation with organizations in the areas to which we belong both geographically and culturally. Libya welcomes those steps and expresses the hope that the Maghreb Union will succeed in playing a similar role with its counterpart organizations on the other side of the Mediterranean, beginning with the intensification of contacts and meetings, as well as active dialogue with the institutions concerned, on a basis of equality and common interests in a manner capable of responding to the concept of joint development and the collective responsibility for maintaining peace and strengthening cooperation on the shores of the Mediterranean.

In view of the stability of the political system in the Jamahiriya and its importance as an economic market, it would be impossible to marginalize or ignore its role in any cooperation between the shores of the Mediterranean if such cooperation is achieve its objectives, at the forefront of which is serving the peoples of the region and achieving their prosperity.

Some progress has been registered recently in the field of disarmament. This is a welcome development. Libya looks forward to more international cooperation with a view to destroying nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as well as other weapons of mass destruction. We look forward to the banning of the development, stockpiling and use of all such weapons. My country also hopes that more efforts will be made to conclude a treaty on making Africa a nuclear-weapon-free zone and the activation of the initiative aimed at making the Middle East region free from weapons of mass destruction. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is a party to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. We hope that the preparatory committee for the 1995 review conference will, in its next session, reach an understanding that takes into consideration the concerns of all parties to the Treaty, especially as regards its extension. My country still has some difficulty in accepting an indefinite extension of the Treaty, because such an extension does not take into account several of our concerns, including the unavailability of credible security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon states. Furthermore, the area in which we live suffers from a security imbalance, resulting from Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons and its non-adherence to the non-proliferation regime. It has not acceded to the Treaty, nor has it signed a safeguard agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). That is why my country would like to emphasize that it is essential to address these concerns at the time of considering the extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1995.

Respect for and protection of human rights is one of the fundamental underpinnings of Libyan policy. This has been demonstrated in various forms which included the setting up of the International Committee for the Qaddafi Human Rights Prize and the adoption of the green document on human rights and basic human freedoms. Libya is determined to support and contribute to all international efforts aimed at guaranteeing the effective enjoyment of human rights. We thus welcome the conclusions of the Vienna Conference, which constitute a step on the road to the support and enhancement of human rights. That human rights Conference rejected the manipulation of human rights and their use as a tool of political pressure. This universally adopted principle must be respected, especially by States that selectively raise problems related to human rights. The international community must stand up to any attempt by any State or group of States to exploit human rights as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of

other States. It must also oppose any attempt by any State or group of States to distort the principles and values of other peoples or to promote the principles and values of such States or groups of States as the only proper values that should be embraced by all peoples.

The international community's hopes for a secure and stable world cannot be realized without addressing economic problems, particularly in the developing countries, where economies continue to face difficulties as a result of the aggravation of the problem of external debts, the application of protectionist trade policies, the imposition of harsh conditions for their importation of advanced technology, the deteriorating prices of raw materials and the continued attempts to impose new taxes, such as the carbon tax, which could hurt not only the economies of the oil-exporting States but also those of oil-importing countries. We believe it is impossible to solve these problems effectively unless the international community deals seriously with and puts an end to the erroneous practices that continue to characterize international economic relations. Such practices include coercive economic measures, such as the freezing of assets and the confiscation by certain developing countries of the property of a number of developing countries, including my own. Such measures constitute an impediment to growth, aside from the fact that they run counter to the Charter of the United Nations, norms of international law and the resolutions of the General Assembly.

The General Assembly is the natural place for Member States to exercise their rights and express their views on the initiatives aimed at reforming the United Nations. In the course of the last session, we followed with keen interest everything that was achieved in this regard. My country expresses its satisfaction at the progress made towards revitalizing the activities of the General Assembly and the establishment of an effective working relationship between the Assembly and the Security Council. We hope future efforts will result in an increase in the membership of the Security Council based on equitable geographical distribution. To our mind, this process must be accompanied by measures to remove obstacles to the proper functioning of the Council, such as the privilege of veto power, and improvements in its working methods so that it can function in accordance with the principles of the Charter and, eschewing double standards, deal consistently with all issues.

If we examine past Security Council practices we shall find that while the Council showed interest in trying to secure commitment to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, it has turned and continues to turn a blind eye to Israel, which has not acceded to the Treaty and actually possesses 200 nuclear warheads. Furthermore, the Security Council has insisted on invoking Chapter VII of the Charter in cases to which it is not applicable, while at the same time failing to invoke Chapter VII in the case of Israel, despite its defiance of United Nations resolutions and its continued occupation of the territories of States Members of the United Nations. The Council kept silent on the Israeli refusal to withdraw from southern Lebanon and on the massacres perpetrated against the Palestinians, such as the one in Hebron's Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi Al-Sharif - the Mosque of Abraham - where, in an act of terrorism, a fanatical Zionist settler, trained in an American camp, killed over 50 Palestinians while they were praying.

My country believes that, in the context of reforming the Security Council, the Council must be neutral and give none of its members a chance to dominate it or steer it towards serving its own interests, as has been the case in so many instances, the latest of which was the Council's granting of permission to one of its permanent members to invade an independent State Member of the United Nations, the Republic of Haiti. It has been said that the objective of that action was to restore democracy and protect human rights. If this were true, why was there no such action in the past, when the people of that country were suffering under the yoke of a repressive regime, subjected to the most vicious violations of their human rights? What happened was a flagrant violation of the Charter, an act of aggression against the inviolability of an independent country. It also establishes the dangerous precedent of giving permission to a State, unhappy about waves of immigrants reaching its shores, to occupy the land where the immigration originates.

Libya cannot afford to overlook this invasion or keep silent about it, first, as a matter of principle and, secondly, because Haiti has a special place in our history. Forty-five years ago Haiti played a decisive role in a matter of interest to us. Its deciding vote won the adoption of the General Assembly resolution on Libya's independence.

At this time next year, the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations will begin. While developments in recent years have revealed some weaknesses in some of the United Nations organs' handling of dispute settlement and crisis management, this cannot be attributed to the Charter but, rather, to the

tendency by certain Powers, insisting that their approach alone should be adopted, to impose their hegemony on the handling of international matters.

This question should be the focus of attention in the next session because it will mark the demise of the old order and the building of the new order that will replace it. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya intends to participate with others in building this new order to ensure that it will be an order based on justice and equality that respects peoples' political and economic options, secures full commitment to international law and full respect for the Charter of the United Nations and stands up to those who would push the United Nations towards the fate of the League of Nations. The new order we need is one that enhances and protects human rights and eradicates poverty, suffering, division, conflicts, disputes and wars. It must be an order in which no State seeks to impose its hegemony and abuse its influence, an order that supports the settlement of disputes among States by peaceful means, not by arbitrary and coercive means. We need a new order under whose umbrella all peoples can look optimistically to a future where security, peace and stability prevail.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now call on the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Solomon Islands, His Excellency the Honourable Francis Joseph Saemala.

Mr. Saemala (Solomon Islands): I wish, first of all, to warmly congratulate Mr. Amara Essy on his election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session, a responsibility he will discharge effectively with the proven diplomatic skills with which he has served his country and his region so well. I take this opportunity also to applaud the good work and leadership of his predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally, who presided over the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

It is appropriate that on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of this Organization we enter a new era in international relations, an era untainted by the cold-war politics that held peace and positive change hostage for too long. Opportunities now abound for change and lasting peace. This new era demands that all Member States take a global view of how the Organization can best meet the objectives set out in the Charter.

President Bill Clinton and President Boris Yeltsin demonstrated this new hope for peace at the opening of the general debate, when both addressed the General Assembly on the same day instead of on consecutive days, as was the old practice. In a spirit of cooperation, these two world leaders described their intent to reduce their nation's stockpiles of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. But disarmament must start from the heart. And I hope that this is the case with the step these two Presidents have taken towards the betterment of all humankind.

Today, we would recall that peace and hatred come from within people - the mirror of a nation, the image of a region and the living treasure of the global community. In order to build a peaceful and safe world for future generations, our resolve to reduce nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction must lie within the hearts of our leaders and policy makers throughout the world. We must therefore seize this opportunity and work together to build a better world.

In this regard, Solomon Islands welcomes the various peace initiatives that continue to bring hope to the world community. The noble efforts of President Mandela to chart a new direction for South Africa must be commended. In his first address as the first President of the new democratic South Africa, President Mandela acknowledged the efforts of the international community in this way:

> "The universal struggle against apartheid and its final dismantlement was not an act of charity arising out of pity for the majority of South African people but an affirmation of our common humanity."

Progress towards a lasting peace in the Middle East has renewed the hope of the international community for stability in that region. The parties involved in these negotiations deserve our sincere acclaim and praise and our continuing support. Replacing guns with meaningful handshakes often takes leaders beyond their physical nature and leads them to resort to their spiritual mindsets - a dimension that is often ignored but which is an essential ingredient in a recipe for conflict resolution.

The cease-fire in Northern Ireland has changed people's perception of the impossibility of the simple reality of living without guns and bullets. These are telling achievements for our times, and their roots are embedded in the human spirit of love and kindness.

Despite United Nations interventions to restore intra-State and international peace and security, the world is still riddled with trouble spots and endangered by

human-induced threats such as the potential impact of climate change and sea-level rise. We witness with horror the human suffering in Rwanda, Somalia, Angola, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Haiti. Solomon Islands calls on the parties concerned to lay down their arms and resort to non-violent means of negotiating peace. True and real peace has to spring from within the warring parties, replacing animosity.

Close to home in the Solomon Islands is the five-year-old crisis on Bougainville, a province of Papua New Guinea. It spilled over into Solomon Islands and caused a rift between the two countries. Nevertheless, through a process of mutual dialogue between the National Government of Papua New Guinea and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, several important agreements have been signed. These include the Honiara commitments to peace, the cease-fire agreement and the historic peace-keeping agreement on Bougainville. The role of the Solomon Islands Government in this conflict has been conciliatory, facilitating peace negotiations amongst the parties concerned. Solomon Islands supports the Bougainville Peace Conference, expected to be convened on 10 October. This reflects our commitment to restoring peace and normalcy on Bougainville.

Solomon Islands pledges its support and commitment to the ideals of the United Nations. We believe it to be the only world body capable of maintaining world peace and security. Solomon Islands shares the views of New Zealand's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Right Honourable Don McKinnon, whose statement at the general debate provided six important management issues that should be addressed while conducting United Nations peace-keeping operations. There is no doubt in my mind that all of us want an effective United Nations - an Organization that meets the objectives it sets out to achieve, an Organization whose Charter is valid because its actions are reliable.

Solomon Islands welcomes the current initiatives undertaken by the Secretary-General in reforming the Organization and supports proposals made by other Member States for further reforms. These reforms, in our view, must also reflect the needs of small island developing States such as my own, particularly the need to remove "the floor" to enable Member States to meet their financial obligations. Some want to pay their assessed annual contributions but do not have the capacity to do so; hence a relative and fair formula should be worked out.

In his report (A/49/1) on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has identified peace, the economy, the environment, justice and democracy as the five interlocking pillars of development. These will provide the foundations for the kind of development that will ensure human progress.

"An Agenda for Peace" paved the way forward from the dark ages of the cold war; the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development was a reawakening initiative to save planet Earth; the Second World Conference on Human Rights sought to establish universal rights for all peoples throughout the world irrespective of race, creed, political affiliation or sex; the International Conference on Population and Development saw the need to control the soaring world population, which now stands at 5.7 billion; and next year the World Summit for Social Development and the World Conference on Women will address poverty, unemployment, social integration and the empowerment of women to take their rightful place in society. These are efforts of Member States committed to the noble cause of securing a peaceful, safe and sustainable world to live in. To achieve these noble goals, an effective global partnership is of paramount importance. Technology has made the world's smaller economies become more interdependent.

Agenda 21, the outcome of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, made a special case for small island developing States because of their peculiar vulnerabilities. The response to this call was the convening of the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States in Barbados in April this year. The passage from Rio to Barbados, at least for small island developing States, was a Programme of Action outlining national, regional and international actions. Our collective support is needed to implement this. If we agree that development takes many forms and requires different responses, then our task will be made easier if we act together. Solomon Islands fully supports the Barbados Programme of Action and calls on the members of the international community to honour their commitments as spelled out in Agenda 21. The successful implementation of the Programme of Action will depend on these commitments.

The Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in his "Agenda for Peace" report to the Security Council, stressed that cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations could be of great benefit to Member States

if their activities were consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter and governed by the provisions of Chapter VIII. Some of those bodies have already gained observer status at the United Nations. This shows the useful role these arrangements and organizations can play in international affairs. Therefore, the strengthening of regional arrangements and organizations that are working closely with the United Nations is a critical issue.

In this regard, Solomon Islands strongly supports the decision by the South Pacific Forum to seek United Nations observer status at the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We acknowledge with gratitude the role of Australia, the current Chairman of the South Pacific Forum, in guiding this initiative through the United Nations system on the Forum's behalf. We thank Member States that have expressed support for this call and invite others to do likewise.

As a member of the South Pacific Forum and the Melanesian Spearhead Group, Solomon Islands endorses the Forum Communiqué issued following the meeting of the twenty-fifth South Pacific Forum held in Brisbane, Australia, this year. We are a party to the Joint Declaration on Economic and Trade Cooperation signed in Solomon Islands this year between Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and Solomon Islands. Solomon Islands calls upon the international community to support our regional arrangements and organizations from which our strength for collective action is derived and which are responsible for our flow of communication.

Forestry and fisheries resources remain my country's main income earners. The Solomon Islands Government is gravely concerned about the unsustainable utilization and management of these resources and has taken steps to ensure sustainable harvesting and conservation measures and to form a national policy. We are party to Agreements reached in Brisbane at the meeting of the South Pacific Forum to cooperate on a wider basis in order to ensure sustainable development of fisheries and forestry resources in our region. Because of the fragility of our ecological system, our biodiversity resources, including forestry and fisheries and other marine living resources, are threatened.

It is heartening to note that after 12 years of negotiations the world will witness the coming into force of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea in November this year. However, we strongly feel that further cooperation is still needed from the distant water fishing nations regarding sustainable harvesting of straddling fish stocks and highly migratory fish stocks, including non-targeted species. We therefore urge distant-water fishing nations to come to grips with the need to complete, as soon as practicable, negotiations on a legally binding agreement on proper conservation and management and sustainable utilization of high seas fisheries resources.

Education is a priority sector in my country. It is a key to the effective management of my country's natural resources as well as a means of achieving the advancement of women to take their rightful place in society. There is a direct link between the education of women and population control. We welcome the outcome of the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development and look forward to the World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing in 1995.

The World Summit for Social Development also has profound implications for capacity-building, institutional strengthening and the transfer of technologies and their appropriate use. Human-centred activities, including tourism development and skills training, are important for the development of human resources. We endorse the 1994 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for its emphasis on human-centred development, an approach that has positive ripple effects in solving other social problems.

Drug trafficking and the criminal activities associated with it worry us in the Pacific, and we are not alone in this. We need international cooperation to stop the movement of illegal drugs from one region to another.

Solomon Islands supports the South Pacific Forum position that the non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) should be extended indefinitely. However, we would like to see firm commitments from the nuclear-weapon States to show the world a leadership role in reducing their stockpiles. We also wish to see a rigid review mechanism set up to be a safeguard instrument as an integral part of the indefinite extension agreement.

It is encouraging to hear the United States, the Russian Federation and China speak in support of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the comprehensive test-ban treaty. It is hoped that a level of harmony between the NPT, the comprehensive test-ban treaty and the cut-off convention may be maintained to enhance the elimination of weapons of mass destruction in an integrated manner.

Solomon Islands urges the post-Forum dialogue partners that have not yet done so to ratify the South Pacific nuclear-free zone Treaty. Nuclear testing in the Pacific is not part of our vocabulary.

Consistent with our belief in a nuclear-free world, waste dumping in the Pacific Ocean is not to be encouraged. We strongly oppose those who may violate this natural rule. We also firmly oppose the transshipment and transboundary movement of plutonium in the South Pacific region.

We need to see some further movement towards a speedy implementation of the Matignon Accords. In this regard, we request the Government of France and the territorial authorities to increase their efforts to achieve real economic and social rebalancing.

Solomon Islands welcomes the move to formulate an agenda and proposals to promote trade and investment between the United States and the Pacific Islands, which will be the subject of a meeting at the East-West Centre in Hawaii later this year.

Apart from the other vulnerabilities that plague small island developing States, the potential impact of climate change and rising sea levels poses a great threat to Pacific islands. There is overwhelming scientific evidence pointing to the danger we now face.

In this regard, Solomon Islands supports the Alliance of Small Island States, which has submitted to next year's Conference of the parties to the Convention on Climate Change an additional protocol aimed at securing a reduction of the emission of greenhouse gases to the 1990s level by 2005, a protocol to which the industrialized countries would be obliged to be parties.

We in Solomon Islands firmly believe that the Republic of China on Taiwan has much to contribute to the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in terms of international cooperation and development. This Republic, with a population more than 58 times that of my own country and highly technologically advanced, deserves to be admitted as a Member of the United Nations. The full participation of the Republic of China on Taiwan in the important work of the United Nations would be an affirmation of the Charter and of democracy and a manifestation of the human spirit's pursuit of a better quality of life for humankind. In my Government's view, a move as noble as the admission of the Republic of China on Taiwan would be not an obstacle to reunification, but a catalyst in the process. In our view, the Secretary-General should use his good offices to encourage the establishment of a committee specifically to facilitate and/or work progressively towards the re-entry of the Republic of China to membership of the United Nations.

President Ernesto Samper Pizano of the Republic of Colombia, speaking from this podium, described Colombia as

> "a country searching for peace because it so loves life." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, forty-ninth session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, p. 8)*

We in Solomon Islands, too, love life very much, and our search is for a better quality of life, which should flow from the wise and sustainable development of our resources.

Collectively, however, our search must be for world peace so that we can live up to our dreams, visions and God-given potential. I believe that the answer to the problem of bringing about world peace lies in our own hearts, not in the barrels of guns or military might. Here, in this great world Assembly, let our hearts enkindle a new torch to shine on the new path to world peace, from the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and beyond.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, His Excellency Squadron Leader Prasong Soonsiri.

Mr. Soonsiri (Thailand): On behalf of the Government and people of Thailand, I extend warmest congratulations to Mr. Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire on his election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. I am confident that he will provide the General Assembly with the leadership to guide the session to a successful conclusion.

I should also like to pay tribute to Ambassador Insanally, the General Assembly's President at its forty-eighth session. My delegation very much appreciates his untiring and effective leadership and his dedication to the work of this body. Under his presidency, the General Assembly had an eventful year, and its role was enhanced in ways which were beneficial to the Organization.

Thailand joins the rest of the international community in congratulating the Government and people of South Africa on having established a united, democratic and non-racial country. They have shown us that compromise is possible and that even the most long-standing and bitter of conflicts can be resolved peacefully. This achievement is due entirely to the exceptional vision, courage and pragmatism of the country's leaders - in particular, President Nelson Mandela and Executive Deputy President F.W. de Klerk. Tribute must also be paid to the United Nations, and in particular to the Special Committee against Apartheid, for its contributions to the positive changes in South Africa.

There is another bright spot giving all of us hope for a more peaceful world. Since the Thai Government has long supported the Middle East peace process, the termination of the state of war between Jordan and Israel, announced in Washington in July this year, following last year's historic agreement between Israel and the PLO, gives all of us reason to rejoice. We hope that it will lead to further agreements on "other tracks" acceptable to all parties concerned, so that a durable peace in the Middle East may finally be achieved.

We also welcome the positive developments concerning the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula and hope that dialogue and negotiation between the parties concerned will eventually result in that part of the world enjoying lasting peace and stability.

However, in spite of the promising outlook for international peace and security, there remain political and military conflicts of both global and regional magnitude. It is therefore imperative that countries continue unfailing efforts to secure a stable and peaceful international environment. As a first step in this direction, the international community could support and cooperate in efforts towards comprehensive reform and total revitalization of the United Nations to enable the Organization to meet the new challenges of today's world and to assist Members efficiently in their peaceful endeavours.

Thailand pledges its continued support for the Secretary-General's proposals in "An Agenda for Peace". These constitute an innovative and practical framework for the maintenance of international peace and security and deserve serious consideration by all Member States.

In South-East Asia, realizing the need to ensure a secure and peaceful international environment, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) took the lead in promoting political and security dialogues and consultations in the Asia-Pacific region by initiating the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Designed to be a high-level consultative forum on political and security matters, the ARF held its first meeting in Bangkok on 25 July 1994, after the twenty-seventh ASEAN ministerial meeting. Nineteen ministers from countries in the Asia-Pacific region and from the European Union attended this historic meeting to discuss political and security cooperation issues, such as the latest developments on regional situations, and decided to carry out some practical confidence-building measures applicable to the Asia-Pacific region.

As Chairman of the first ARF meeting, Thailand is pleased with the results of the meeting and its achievements. In particular, Thailand is grateful for the kind cooperation it received from all countries concerned. Since the success of this first meeting, the ARF has become a viable forum for the promotion of trust as well as political and security cooperation within the Asia-Pacific region. The ARF has also demonstrated its potential to make substantive contributions towards the United Nations efforts at preventive diplomacy and at maintaining international peace and security.

In other words, the ARF got off to a good start. Thailand is fully aware that the first meeting of the ARF in Bangkok was only the beginning. For this reason, Thailand views the inter-sessional activities at various levels among officials from ARF countries as necessary for the ARF's continued success. These activities could help the ARF find its future direction and enable it to become more efficient and productive.

Political and military security are but one aspect of the bigger picture facing us. As we search for a new international order based on a common set of principles and values, we need to change our way of thinking. We also need a new culture of development cooperation and new definitions of the notions of security and development.

The winds of change have begun to sweep across the globe. We are now witnessing the creation of major landmarks of international consensus-building. In 1992, the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit set a new stage for global partnership on the environment and sustainable development. Last year (in Vienna), the World Conference on Human Rights was held, producing a world programme of action. Last month in Cairo we

witnessed the International Conference on Population and Development. Next year in Copenhagen, the World Summit for Social Development will be held. This Summit will serve as a bridge between this year's Conference on Population and Development in Cairo and next year's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. It also presents a unique opportunity for the international community to respond, on a global level, to urgent human and social concerns that place people at the centre of the development process.

The Thai Government accords special importance to social development. In light of this, we have established a social cabinet dedicated to formulating policies and finding solutions to a number of pressing social problems. We have also organized a joint committee comprising members of the private sector and of Government and chaired by the Prime Minister. Its mandate is to oversee efforts to alleviate the social problems that beset a growing economy, such as those being experienced by my country and others in the region.

Thailand has participated and will continue to participate actively in all global deliberations. These conferences create new paradigms of international conduct which give rise to the various comprehensive global plans of action. They have also started the new process of redefining the notions of security and development.

Security in this final decade of the twentieth century goes well beyond the familiar concepts of old. It must involve people - how they live and how they exercise their choices. It should be security with a human face, because it must deal directly with political, economic, environmental and social aspects of our lives in a comprehensive manner.

Development, as pointed out by the Secretary-General, must be seen in its five interlinked dimensions: with peace as the foundation; the economy as the engine of progress; the environment as a basis for sustainability; justice as a pillar of society; and democracy as good governance. My country shares these perceptions and supports their premises as envisioned by the Secretary-General.

It is with this awareness that Thailand approaches its work on the international agenda for development. Such an agenda should reflect and indeed promote self-reliance as well as interdependence among Member States. There is no doubt that development is primarily a national responsibility. Yet, it is also a shared responsibility of the international community. It is our firm belief that the development effort of any State in today's world must be supported by a conducive international environment, based on free and fair trading practices. The completion of the Uruguay Round and the creation of the World Trade Organization now hold out the prospect of providing significant benefits to the world economy.

A United Nations agenda for development should not be given any less importance than the agenda for peace. These two intertwined issues must be the core of any effort to strengthen the role and activities of the United Nations as we approach the next century.

Together with the "An Agenda for Peace", "An agenda for development" should serve as an instrument for the coordination of activities within the United Nations, as well as between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions, and other non-governmental organizations. It should be an instrument to create unity of purpose, at both the policy and operational levels, within the Organization. The United Nations cannot be a strong force for peace unless it is also a strong force for development.

The United Nations remains humanity's best hope for creating a more desirable world - a world with a conscience, a world which recognizes that humans everywhere, young or old, strong or weak, are at the centre of our communal and individual efforts. To this end, I should like to reaffirm Thailand's commitment to this vision, which cannot be fulfilled without the active participation of Member States. Thailand will do its part in contributing to this end. We hope that other countries will also chip in with their fair share of contributions. A world united by this vision and this unity of purpose will surely be a better place for us all and, more important, for our children and grandchildren.

The President *(interpretation from French):* Several representatives have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I remind members that, pursuant to decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to 5 minutes for the second, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): I am obliged to reply to the speech by the representative of Iraq, which attacked the United States, misrepresented the facts about Iraq's lack of compliance with Security Council resolutions and insulted the United Nations.

The issue here is not the United States record, but Iraq's record. Despite the claim of its representative at the outset of his speech to respect international law, Iraq is in simultaneous violation of more Security Council resolutions than any Member State in the history of the United Nations. It has sought to evade, ignore and negotiate away its obligations. The only approach it has not tried is compliance.

For more than three years, Iraq has failed to account for Kuwaiti and other prisoners and missing persons. It has yet to return all of the Kuwaiti property it stole. It continues to destroy systematically one of the world's richest ecological regions and to suppress brutally the human rights of its citizens, all in contravention of Security Council resolutions 687 (1991) and 688 (1991).

It is the height of cynicism for the Iraqi Government to appeal to the General Assembly on behalf of the suffering Iraqi people. This is the same Government which, years before "ethnic cleansing" was employed in Bosnia, erased hundreds of Kurdish villages from the map of Iraq and used chemical weapons against its own civilians.

The Security Council cares about the Iraqi people more than the Government of Iraq does. Iraq rejected the implementation of resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), which would have helped feed ordinary Iraqis, not because the United States or anyone else imposed additional conditions, but because Iraq treated those resolutions, like all others, not as binding international law but only as the starting point for negotiations. Iraq continues to request sanctions Committee approval for import of luxury goods. None of Saddam's family is hungry, and his dwindling number of supporters still enjoy imported liquor and cigarettes. The Government of Iraq refuses to do more to help its people precisely because it knows that their suffering is the only Iraqi argument the world community views with sympathy.

Iraqi cooperation on weapons of mass destruction is grudging and incomplete. It has never revealed details about its past biological-weapons programme, and it is seeking to reactivate its network of equipment supply for these programmes. There is no reason to believe Iraq's promises in this regard. The Security Council can rely only upon an extensive long-term monitoring system, adequately tested over an adequate period of time.

A change in Iraqi behaviour in all of these areas is the programme of the Security Council, ratified in its resolutions. This, and no other, is the programme of the United States.

This morning's speech was a classic attempt to define white as black. Iraq is not the victim. Iraq is the aggressor, the initiator of the conflict. It has never accepted the simple fact, agreed upon by virtually every nation represented here, that its invasion of Kuwait was illegal from the beginning.

We had hoped that the Iraqi representative today would have addressed this core issue. Instead, he found himself still incapable of mentioning the word "Kuwait" in public, still unable to address the core issue of the conflict: Kuwait's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and borders.

Yesterday's statement by the Revolutionary Command Council threatening action against the United Nations if the Security Council does not meet Iraq's demands was a giant step backwards in meeting the fundamental criterion of Security Council resolution 687 (1991): that the Council be assured of Iraq's peaceful intentions. This morning in New York we heard promises of compliance; from Baghdad we hear threats and defiance. The two statements may be dressed differently - one as a lamb, one as a wolf - but they convey the same fact: that the Government of Iraq continues to believe that the use of force and threats against its neighbours is legitimate.

Even as we listened to placating words from the Iraqi representative, the facts on the ground were quite different. Iraq is moving elements of two of its premier Republican Guard divisions, the Hammurabi and Al-Nida armoured divisions, from northern and central Iraq southwards, close to the Kuwaiti border. They are deploying with ammunition and other logistical supplies. I do not believe any member of this Assembly could characterize these facts as evidence of peaceful intentions. On the contrary, these military facts belie everything we have just heard from the representative of Iraq.

Let it be absolutely clear to the Iraqi Government that a repetition of its past mistakes will be met by my Government with the same resolve as before.

Moreover, seeking to precipitate a crisis will not encourage the Security Council to speed the lifting of sanctions; it will have exactly the opposite effect.

Mr. Hoxha (Albania): I feel obliged to respond, in exercise of the right of reply, to the statement made here on 5 October by the representative of Greece, who alleged that the Greek minority in Albania is denied human rights as it was during the previous, Communist regime. I would respond by citing the following facts.

In free and fair elections held during the last two years, the Greek minority cast 49,000 votes - that is, 1.03 per cent of the total number of voters. Article 26 of the constitutional law on fundamental rights and freedoms, adopted by the Albanian Parliament on 31 March 1993, stipulates that

> "Individuals belonging to minorities shall enjoy, without discrimination and with equality before the law, fundamental human rights and freedoms. They may freely express, preserve and develop their own ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity, teach and be taught in their mother tongue and associate in organizations and associations to protect their interests and identity".

That provision has been fully implemented in practice. With regard to the Greek minority, I would mention some important aspects of its implementation, such as the educational system in the Greek language. It comprises 85 schools at all levels including university, 46 classes of which have fewer than 10 pupils, whereas the basic rule that applies in the country requires that classes should have not less than 20 students. The Government's decision on education dated 22 August 1994 increases the opportunity for, and offers the possibility of, education in the mother tongue for minority people living in areas of mixed population. It took the Greek Government only one day to describe that decision as a restriction of the right to education of the Greek minority in Albania.

Allow me to point out that the overall integration of the Greek minority in all spheres of life in Albania is already an established fact. The Greek minority is represented in parliament by two members from its own party and four others from other parties; in the executive branch by cabinet ministers, high officials and ambassadors; and in the judiciary by judges in the constitutional court and other low-level courts.

In the local government, the Greek minority is represented by 13 chairmen of communes, 159 councillors of district councils and 32 councillors of civic councils and so on. There are Greek newspapers, several hours of radio broadcasts in Greek and its own cultural and political organizations.

Since the establishment of the democratic regime, the Greek minority enjoys the right to travel freely to Greece and elsewhere.

During the Hoxha communist regime, many people who attempted to cross the barbed-wired border were killed. In contrast to the previous regime, when all churches were banned, now, thanks to the democratic regime, churches are built and the liturgy is given in Greek in all villages inhabited by minority people, as witnessed by various observers and missions from Greece and other countries and from different international organizations.

As regards the trial of five Albanian citizens of Greek origin, constantly referred to by the Greek Government, and again by its representative at this session, I should like to make clear that the defendants were charged with collusion with the secret services of Greece. The court sentenced them for smuggling several hundred firearms in an organized manner, for recruiting and sending Albanian citizens of Greek nationality to Greek military schools without the knowledge of the Albanian Government, of gathering secret military information and of illegal possession of weapons.

The Albanian delegation is ready to provide any interested country with the dossier containing pertinent materials confirming such activities. It is appropriate here to emphasize that the guilt of the defendants has never been questioned, whether in the resolutions or in the recourse mentioned by the Greek delegation or in any other reports.

Greece, whose State or quasi-State organs appear to be involved in the findings of this trial, has reacted strongly in all international institutions. Prejudging the trial, the Greek Government began its campaign long before the opening of the trial, trying to influence the verdict of the district court of Tirane. On the other hand, through a series of pressure and other retaliatory actions, such as the massive maltreatment and expulsion of 70,000 Albanian emigrants working in Greece and the blocking of the 35 million ECUs that the European Union allocated to Albania to assist in its development, the Greek Government has attempted to compel the democratic government to violate the recently adopted democratic legislation on the separation of powers and

has intervened to suspend the trial. This is a hostile act, unacceptable to any country.

As to the report of Mr. Andres Zeplinsky, to which the representative of Greece referred, I would say that there is no official report drafted by that person. The only existing document entitled "Report of the trial monitoring in Tirane" - distributed at the meeting of the permanent committee of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Vienna on 19 September 1994, reads as follows:

> "The trial was open and attended by many journalists and observers from Greece and different countries."

Even in this document, there is no evidence of any reservation concerning the charges or the innocence of the five defendants.

Regarding, the allegation that the defendants were tortured during the investigation process, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the High Commissioner for National Minorities of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Mr. Van De Stoel, met with the defendants on a one-to-one basis without the presence of the Albanian authorities. In his briefing to the permanent committee in Vienna, Mr. Van De Stoel said that none of the defendants had complained about their treatment in prison. The above-mentioned document of the CSCE also states that "the Albanian judicial system has made considerable progress since independence".

Concerning the question of the Albanian immigrants in Greece, Albanians have always appreciated the generosity of the Greek people. However, it must be pointed out that the stance of the Greek Government is quite different from that of the Greek people and violates the relevant internationally-recognized standards.

I must stress that the Greek Government has failed to offer a solution to the legalization of the status of the Albanian immigrants despite Albania's insistence that it wishes to help solve this problem.

With regard to economic assistance, I have not much to add since the Greek representative left no room for doubt about the position of Greece, which is already well known, namely that Greece persists in blocking the assistance of the European Union to Albania. Nevertheless, I must add that it is difficult for the Albanian people to understand how Greece could block the generous aid of the taxpayers and of the Governments of the European member States only to serve its nationalistic ambitions.

It is regrettable that the Greek Government continues to distort the truth about the large Albanian minority living in Greece from time immemorial and in its own lands. The reference to the Chams as collaborators with the Nazis is but an attempt to justify the massacre against the Cham people in 1944 and 1945 when many of them were forcibly expelled and sought refuge in Albania. Neither the former Greek authorities nor the present Government have allowed them to reclaim their property.

In his statement, the Greek representative did not explain why Greece insists on denying the existence of the Albanian minority in Greece. I would recommend that he at least consult the last report of the British Helsinki Human Rights Group of May 1994 regarding the situation of the Albanian Macedonian and Turkish minorities in Greece to see how far behind Greece is, as compared to Albania, in abiding by the commitments deriving from international documents on minority rights.

Despite the current difficulties, my country continues to hope that Greece will respond positively to Albania's open invitation to an unconditional dialogue for we are convinced that the crisis in the relations between the two countries can and ought to be resolved through dialogue. Our commitment to this end, as stated last week by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Albania, will be strong and consistent.

Finally, I would like to say that the presence of Albania in the family of democratic nations has been decided by the free vote of the Albanian people. No nationalism whatsoever will succeed in bringing about a shift in its orientation towards full integration into Europe.

Prince Sisowath (Cambodia) *(interpretation from French):* This afternoon, Mr. Nguyen Manh Cam, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam stated that he was concerned over the new Cambodian law on immigration.

My delegation has the honour of informing the Assembly that this law was adopted by a very large majority in the National Assembly of Cambodia, a sovereign State that emerged from the elections in our

country, which were supervised by the United Nations.

The law reflects the concerns of the Cambodian people, responds to the current situation and is applied uniformly to all foreigners without discrimination. Like any law, the law on immigration will enter into force only when the text relating to its application has been drawn up. The text will take into account the higher interests of Cambodia as well as the concerns expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam.

My delegation can give every assurance that there will be no decision taken for mass expulsions of foreigners. Any measure to implement the law and the regulations relevant thereto will be subject to joint consideration by the countries concerned, among others the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia, His Highness Prince Sihanouk, has sent a letter to his Vietnamese counterpart offering to send a group of experts to negotiate on the problem of Vietnamese residents in Cambodia.

As regards the question of human rights, I should like to inform the Assembly that our Constitution has been drawn up in strict conformity with the recommendations formulated in the Paris Agreements of October 1991 and in the Conventions signed by the National Supreme Council on behalf of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Mr. Al-Qaysi (Iraq): The representative of the United States exercised her right of reply in respect of the statement made this morning by my Deputy Prime Minister. She alleged that our statement attacked the United States, misrepresented the facts about Iraq's lack of compliance with Security Council resolutions and insulted the United Nations. Evidently, the representative of the United States was repeating the same accusations that she levelled against my country in the periodic reviews of the Security Council, the last of which was held on 14 September 1994.

It is quite obvious to me that the statement of the representative of the United States is an open attempt to draw my delegation into a rhetorical exchange, an attempt which I shall resist.

Facts are facts. The statement of my Deputy Prime Minister this morning presented to the General Assembly a factual account which we are prepared to prove - an account that even American newspapers say is true. I would refer those who wish to verify that fact to this morning's issue of the Washington Post. The United States is in fact the permanent member of the Security Council that, in violation of the Charter, is blocking the consequences of Iraq's implementation of Security Council resolutions.

I wonder, therefore, whether calling in the General Assembly for the correct implementation of its commitment to the Charter by a Member State can be characterized as an insult to the General Assembly.

One would think, to listen to the statement of the representative of the United States, that we in Iraq should not only be accountable before the United States for what we say, but we should also be accountable for what we do not say. The representative of the United States says that the issue here is not the record of the United States, but the record of Iraq. I disagree. The record that is at issue in our statement is the record of the members of the Security Council, notably that of one or two permanent members when they block the correct process of the implementation of commitments under the Charter.

In our view, we are entitled, in accordance with the clear-cut obligations set forth in the Charter, to ask the General Assembly what we should do. Although these very resolutions were drafted by the United States itself, they are not being implemented - not because the Council does not want to implement them, but because the United States does not want them to be implemented.

As for the statement of the representative of the United States to the effect that the facts on the ground were quite different from what we stated in our statement, and the allegation that there were troop movements, let us reflect. An allegation is an allegation. Before it is proven, it remains only an allegation. If we are to base conclusions on allegations, then it would mean, as seems quite clear from the statement of the representative of the United States, that even the movement of troops within State boundaries is not an act of peaceful intention.

When the representative of the United States talks about statements that are emanating from Baghdad, let her be fair and equitable, and acknowledge for once that blocking the correct process of the implementation of Security Council resolutions which Iraq has implemented for so long, and perpetuating the suffering of our whole nation, certainly results in frustration and anger. Are we not even allowed to express our frustration and anger, according to the representative of the United States?

To conclude, let me repeat that facts are facts. Commitments under the Charter are clear. The rights and obligations of Member States under the Charter are clear. We are talking about the present; we are not talking about the past. We are not here to play worn-out records simply for the sake of not allowing the correct process of implementation to continue.

It is a fact that the United States is the permanent member of the Council that is blocking the implementation of the provisions of resolution 687 (1991) in favour of Iraq - the very resolution that it drafted itself. I fail to see, in the reply of the representative of the United States, anything that refutes what we said in our statement this morning.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.